/66 cont./

600 and after that a small celebration takes place. Later the women
● 841 do not make any arrangements for concealing the monthly bleeding from the eyes of the other /67/ members of the tribe, including the children. They do avoid walking about a great deal during these days, and, if the blood flows too copiously, they sit on the bank of the nearby river or brook.

i) Initiation rites for young men

884 All young men who have reached the age of approximately
132 20 years must submit to an initiation rite. It always takes place at the beginning of the dry season, between October and December, halfway between their winter quarters and the large, open maloka where the two tribes spend the summer together and cele-
884 brate the great festival in memory of the dead. In an inter-
86 mediate camp of this type (for a description of the intermediate camp of the Surára, see p. 23) two young men are always trained for two months by the chief and an experienced helper (Hewemão and his brother Kurikayawõ among the Surára; Karenauõ and the war chief Porẽhiwõ among the Pakidái) in all matters of religion, magic, mythology, curing the sick, and tribal tradition. Only after that are they regarded as full members of their community and from then on may independently undertake cures and prayers. It should be mentioned that for each sickness there are definite
[782] melodies, texts, and dance steps. The same is true of the prayers with which the individual men address the gigantic animal and plant spirits (hekurá, see p. 200) before and after a journey, after slaying a large game animal, before planting a roça (forest clear-
[276] ing), after a successful harvest, etc. All these magic practices, however, may take place only in the snuff-powder intoxication (see p. 201).

During the training the candidates may not speak to any member of the tribe; during this time they are regarded as dead
884 and after two months achieve an initiatory rebirth. Purely ex-
302 ternally, one recognizes the two candidates by their body painting,
825 which consists of six vertical serpentine lines drawn with urucú
86 on abdomen and chest. These lines are a symbolic representation of the surucucu (Lachesis muta L.), the most dangerous

/90 cont./

514 [264] There is frequent belching during and after eating, and it happens not infrequently that a member of the family breaks wind, often with a loud noise, which, however, is received with happy laughter, without any damage to the appetite. Both sexes also spit a great deal as a result of the tobacco rolls which they have in the mouth almost constantly (see p. 190).

Urination is done in the immediate vicinity of the maloka during the day and in the hearth at night. Men and boys always urinate in a squatting position, just like women and girls. For their other needs they all go a bit deeper into the forest clearing during the day, or even to the edge of the forest. When they have finished, they rub the seat back and forth a few times on the ground or against a tree trunk. The mother holds small children, in case she happens to be lying in the hammock, over the edge of it. Then she wipes her hand or lower arm across its seat a few times, or, if necessary, she uses a little stick to clean it. The little heap is covered with ashes or earth and stamped into the ground by the mother. If an adult has more important business to attend to at night, he digs a small hole beside the hammock and subsequently covers it with ashes or earth. Old or sick persons do this during the day as well. The reason that [825] [976] the Surára and Pakidái do not leave the maloka at night for the aforementioned purpose is because they are afraid of snakes and jaguars, as well as of nonexí, the evil spirit which transmits sickness (see p. 211). Persistent unpleasant odors are not noticeable even in closed malokas, however, since they are dispelled by the ascending smoke of the constantly burning fire.

• 841 During their menstruation the women do not use anything to absorb the blood (see pp. 142/143). Pools of blood that remain on the ground are obliterated by them with their feet.

356 123 291 In general, however, the communal house is kept quite clean. One always sees men and women sweeping with a broom made of piaçaba fibers. For this work both sexes liked to put on the shirts and trousers or clothing which I had brought them as gift articles and which were otherwise not at all appreciated.

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm.

● [841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancheria or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

/213 cont./

793 For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain
624 later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may
[622] not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the im-
123 pression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly
[276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our
775 informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after
● [841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a
[126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made
[532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals; he was the guapo. 1/1

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. 71-An.]

The first menstrual period

/215 cont./

584 881 indicates that a man may have sexual relations with the wife who was promised to him when she was still a child. Sometimes a girl will refuse to marry the man to whom she was promised as a wife, but she is afraid to conceal her first menstrual periods for mythological reasons.

881 773 In their oral literature the Sanemá tell of a very sad case which occurred in remote times because a girl concealed her first menstruation. Oineitĩb, a scrawny dwarf, found out about what had happened and caused heavy rains to fall for a period which demolished the rancheria where the girl lived. All the men died. The young girl went away to live with the neighboring group, where she was greeted with unequivocal signs of friendliness. On the very day of her arrival a man went to the river to fish, when suddenly he saw floating on the water the dead bodies of the people of the rancheria recently destroyed by the heavy rain. He immediately realized what had happened. He returned to the rancheria and killed the girl. The dwarf ate the girl and all the people who lived in the rancheria destroyed by the rain. This happens very rarely, however, which is why the dwarf is so thin.

881 [302] [262] We do not know the content of the puberty rites, but it seems that the hair is cut in the case of both sexes, and, for the boys as well as for the girls, food is limited to cassava and water, and that in small amounts. They do not eat meat. An informant 343 from the Erebato spoke to us of a special hut where the women ● 841 remain for the duration of their menstrual period. If we under- 881 stood him correctly, this hut is round and dome-shaped and made of palm leaves stuck into the ground. Inside the hut there is a circle made of little sticks placed side by side, within which there are two sticks stuck into the ground one meter apart. Between these sticks is fixed a bejuco. /216/ The woman, who must not lie down during menstruation, sits down and the bejuco serves as a back support. We did not see any house of this type.

584 The arrangements for a marriage are initiated with a private discussion between the two young lovers. The boy indicates to his fiancée that he wishes to take her as his wife and says to her:

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When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobimou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*roo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The